any kind and their equally childlike way of doing whatever is pleasant for the moment in place of performing a duty, would effectually prevent this. So the best had to be made of skilled European but, of course, essentially alien agency.

Hostile Tribes estimated only.—Although the whole of the Tribes on the Great Andaman (with the exception of the Jarawas of the interior of the South Andaman and part of its west coast and of the interior of Baratang) are on the most friendly terms with us and with each other, it was quite impossible to go into the Jarawa country at all. So was it impossible also to visit, for Census purposes, the North Sentinel and the greater part of Rutland Island, likewise inhabited by the Jarawas, as these people are as inimical to other Andamanese as they are to Europeans or Asiatics generally—their hostility being exhibited equally to every stranger. Again, the Önge Tribe, closely related to the Jarawas, inhabiting the Little Andaman and the Cinque Islands, have only of late become friendly in part and to an unknown extent only, and it was not thought advisable to do anything that might disturb a desirable feeling of friendliness and confidence in us that is yearly increasing in strength, and thus it was decided to leave them alone also. These two Tribes, now the largest of the Andamanese, had to be left to estimates, such as a very long acquaintance with the people generally on the part of the local officers warranted.

Control of the Operations.—In the circumstances to be faced I took the control of the Andamanese Census into my own hands and selected three officers to carry out the work. Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Deputy Superintendent of the Penal Settlement, now retired, Captain (now Major) A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., Senior Medical Officer of the Penal Settlement, and Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, one of the District Officers of the Settlement. Mr. Man's numerous and unique writings on the Andamans, resulting from his very long acquaintance with the Andamanese, and his many years' personal charge of them, pointed to him as the official most likely to succeed in arriving at a definite idea of the numbers of the aboriginal population. I also generally superintended myself as much of the actual work of enumeration as my many duties connected with the islands permitted.

Census Tours.—It was decided that two separate tours should be undertaken round the Great Andaman. The first, in the R. I. M. S. *Elphinstone* accompanied by the large sea-going steam launch *Bess*, commenced at Port Blair on 25th January 1901 and lasted till 2nd February. The party proceeded up the east coast northwards, through the Archipelago, and down the west coast as far as Kwangtung Harbour (since renamed Port Anson by the Marine Survey). I was present during this tour myself and then had to proceed on duty to Calcutta in the *Elphinstone*. The business of the *Bess* was to accompany the *Elphinstone* everywhere and to go into passages and anchorages which were barred to the larger steamer. Kwangtung Harbour or Port Anson separates the middle and south Andaman Islands, and the *Bess* returned to Port Blair by the east coast through Homfray's Strait, the northernmost of the two dividing straits, picking up what additional information was possible on the way.

The second tour in the *Bess*, accompanied by the sea-going steam launch *Belle* of equal size, commenced at Port Blair on the 15th February 1901 and lasted till 18th February. The party proceeded northwards as before up the east coast to the middle strait, the southernmost of the two dividing straits, and thence to Kwangtung Harbour. It then proceeded down the west coast, through the Labyrinth Islands, round Rutland Island, to the Cinque Islands and thence to Bumila Creek in the Little Andaman, the occasion being taken to show as much civility as possible to a party of Önges. Thence the party proceeded home to Port Blair up the east coast. In this way was secured as comprehensive a circuit of the Andaman Islands as was possible in a short time and at a reasonable expense. In Appendix A will be found the detailed orders as to their tours, as they may be of use at the next Census; the operations at which, I apprehend, must be practically extensions of those undertaken this time. Attached to the orders are some notes on the navigation of the often very dangerous coasts of the Andamans and a sketch of the work performed daily.

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[501] (11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Onge-Jarawa pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Onge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Onge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[353] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Onges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[562 591] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Onges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Onges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

• 609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. 597 Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes (of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

to the arid climate) are among the most wrinkled people in the world.

At birth, the Onges are tiny, attractive little creatures, very plump, but rarely over two and a half kilograms in males and two kilograms in females. I was very fortunate indeed in that I succeeded in persuading one young couple to let me examine their new-born child. Local superstition forbids a stranger looking on a child for any length of time, and even an Onge who does so is regarded with suspicion, so I had to be extremely cautious.

The infant was born on 30 March 1954, in the forest to the north of Labanar. Like most deliveries, birth took place in the forest on a bed improvised for the purpose, with only the father (on some occasions also the wife's mother) present, and the placenta was buried under the bed. The women recover very quickly;[1] after a few days they are fit for heavy work, returning to the group without any purification ceremonies, and this was no exception. After a wealth of gifts I managed to examine the child on the morning of 31 March and again on 10, 13 and 14 April. After this mother and child vanished completely, and the father would give me only evasive replies, although only a few days before he had been willing to help me open some graves round Tambe-e-buiè, allowing me to remove the bones of nine Onges who had been dead for many years; superstition (or the women) overcame him on this occasion, however.

My examinations were all carried out in the presence of the mother and at least two of the older women, who were determined to prevent me touching the child.

The child, like all Onge babies, had no body hair; this persists throughout life, though some males have sparse moustaches. Its head was covered with a very fine, sparse down, not black like the adults, but already showing signs of the characteristic woolly texture. Dark reddish-brown, the hair becomes black and tightly curled during the first year of life. The eyelashes curl markedly in adults, but the hair of the eyebrows is virtually straight; in the infant the former were barely visible, and the latter completely absent.

The nails were strong and well formed, projecting a little beyond

[1] Childbirth is normally very easy, but miscarriages are common, probably due to lack of vitality in the foetus.

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

most striking of these is ambidexterity. This is the general rule in the Onges and also appears as a normal trait in the primitive peoples of Oceania, America and Asia. Another physical characteristic of the Onges, reported also in Tasmans and various peoples of Oceania, is the early onset of ageing in both sexes; in the Tasmans the women are rarely fertile after the age of thirty, and this is also probably the case with the Onges. Unlike the Tasmans, however, the Onges, though sharing their very black skin colour, have among other physical differences markedly scant body hair. A study of their blood groups by Dr H. Lehmann (see also Mourant) has moreover lent very considerable support to the external physical evidence in favour of a relationship between the Andamanese and the people of Oceania, both past and present.

From the anthropological point of view perhaps the most outstanding feature of all these peoples is that despite their extreme aggressiveness towards outsiders their corporate sense is such that they have no need of leaders to give orders. Rarely are there hereditary leaders; such as they are, their leaders are chosen on the basis of outstanding powers, such as supposed clairvoyance, as in the Andamanese.

The Andamanese themselves know nothing of their origins, lost in the mists of time, and it is for us to trace them, working back along the paths cleared by the anthropologist, the ethnographer and the archaeologist. They represent today the survival, almost unchanged, of a culture once to be found all over Oceania, spread thousands of years ago by canoes hardly different from those the Onges use today. They carried the unknown seamen from island to island, bearing with them a way of life which in the Andamans at least was never to change – a point of arrival, rather than of departure. Driven in on themselves by circumstances of geography just as other circumstances now unknown had driven them there originally, they have remained isolated, dwindling in numbers over the centuries, until they were discovered by the modern world. Their reception of outsiders, however they come and whoever they may be, is aggressive; consciously or unconsciously the Andamanese seek to preserve the only way of life they know. And who can be sure they are wrong?

No one could deny the demographic decadence of the islanders,